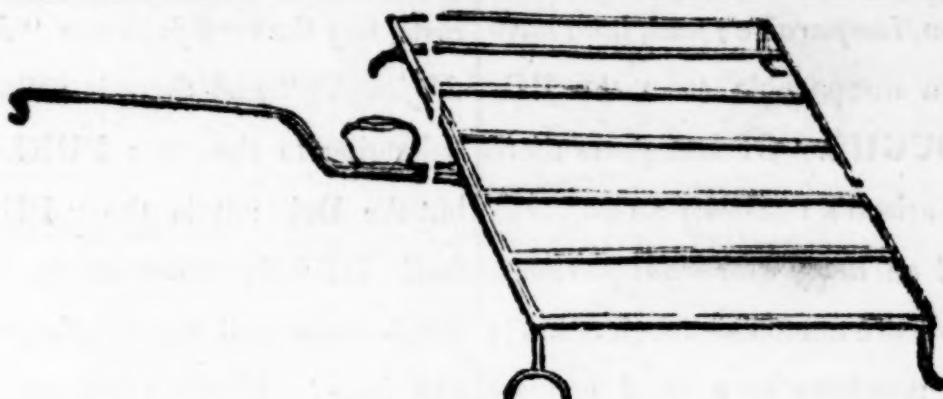


COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The Clergy of the establishment, however charitable in their doctrines, have withdrawn, by degrees, the rightful and accustomed portion of their estates, from the repair of the churches and the maintenance of the poor."—RUGGLES. *Rights and Duties of the Poor.*

THE "CHURCH IN DANGER"!!!

TO THE
REFORMERS OF LEEDS.

ON THE INTERESTING PROCEEDINGS, IN THAT TOWN, ON THE 26TH JULY, 1827, ON THE SUBJECT OF TAXING THE PEOPLE, IN ORDER TO RAISE MONEY FOR KEEPING IN REPAIR THREE NEW CHURCHES, WHICH HAVE BEEN STUCK UP AT LEEDS.

Kensington, 1st August, 1827.

MY FRIENDS,

AYE, she is in *real* danger at last! If her base partisans, who have invariably been *our enemies*, were to set up their old cry NOW, they would make people *laugh*;

and, it is because the people would *dare to laugh*, that those who would set up the cry, would set it up with reason. This, my friends, is a vastly important matter; for, next to the DEBT stands the LAW-CHURCH. In-

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]



deed they are, and, for just *one* hundred and three years, have been, *inseparable*; and, both have been inseparable from the BO- ROUGHS. Of late years there has arisen a necessity for *barracks and an army* (for what purposes YOU are not fools enough to ask); and now here is a third companion, inseparable from the other two. It is curious enough (though the observation is by no means new), that, while the army is called "*His Majesty's army*," the Debt is never called *his Ma- jesty's Debt*! I should like to have, from some learned man of Whitehall, the reason for this distinction. The Debt is founded on law (or, perhaps, I ought to say, *acts of parliament*): so is the army. The Debt is supported solely by taxes squeezed out of the people: so is the army. The Bank manages the affairs of the Debt: and the army is constantly employed in guarding the Bank. Why not, then, call the Debt, *His Majesty's Debt*? The pa- laces, the parks, though supported

by the people, are called *His Majesty's*; the highways and for- rests, nay the very jails are "*His Majesty's*"; and there is nothing belonging to the poor PUBLIC but the Debt: it is the "**PUB- LIC DEBT**"; but it is the *king's taxes* and the *king's army and jails*! When it is a matter of *income* or of *power*, then the whole thing is the *king's*; but when it is a matter of *paying or bearing or suffering*, the whole thing is the concern of "**THE PUBLIC**."

This insolence will get a complete repulse, one of these days; but, I was going to remark, that it is curious, that the parsons have contrived, that the *Church* shall be called neither *His Majesty's Church* nor the *Public Church*! Yet the king is, *by law* (or act of parliament, rather), *head*, or *com- mander-in-chief*, of the *Church*; so that, there does seem a very good reason for calling it *His Ma- jesty's Church*. We read, in the newspapers, only a day or two ago, that the Bishop of Rochester

and must have a very great and Mr. Singleton seconded the

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did homage to His Majesty on his appointment to that post. Surely, then, we might call this thing His Majesty's Church! Yet, the parsons, from TOM CRANMER down to his living successors, have had the cuteness to prevent the Church being called His Majesty's. They do not call it the *Church of God*, the *Church of Christ*, or anything in that way. They call it the Church by LAW established. They know that that title sets all inquiries at defiance. It is a most curious Church, to be sure: the sovereign of the kingdom is the HEAD of this Church, and, in that capacity, he appoints Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and others. Bishops *do homage* to him; that is to say, acknowledge him as *their head*, and declare that they will submit to his commands. But, this sovereign may not always be A HE; Nay, the sovereign may be a *little girl!* Oh, God! Let us say no more about it: let us not imagine an archbishop upon his knees *doing homage* to, acknowledging the *headship* of, de-

claring that *he will submit himself* to, a little girl, and that, too, in matters of *doctrine* as well as others: let us say no more about it; it is too good a thing, all taken together, with *captain parsons*, and lieutenant parsons and all, as noticed in my last.

To such a pitch was clerical insolence carried in the famous Anti-Jacobin times; that is, from 1793 to 1797, that, wherever there was a parson present at any public dinner, "*the Church*" was toasted *before the King!* To be sure, this was a matter of no consequence to the people; but, it shows the *insolence*, the pitch of insolence, at which this description of persons had arrived. The stoppage of the Bank, in 1797, gave them a rap on the knuckles. They rallied, when the paper-money got about the country in great masses; and they grew exceedingly bold during the last years of the war against France, having, then, not the smallest idea, that there could ever be any failure of resources, or any diffi-

culty about debt or paper-money. Indeed, they never received a real blow, till their own dear Doctor, the famous SOLON PEEL (whose father had "a presentiment that he should be the *founder of a family*"); never did the parsons receive a real blow, till they got it in the famous *Bill of Solon Peel!* The very year that saw that Bill passed, saw them as busy as at almost any period of the war; saw one of them *foremost at Manchester* on the 16th of August; and saw this *same man* get, directly after the Manchester affair, *a great living from the Archbishop of Canterbury!* Solon Peel's Bill was a *real damper*. I have often endeavoured to do justice to the *noses* of this body. It seemed to be the *business* of Rag-Rooks to smell out the consequences of this Bill; but, the parsons smelled it *first*: what they smelled I cannot say; but, they smelled mischief to them, in one way or another. They were right; for, now, every body sees, that they are in *real danger!* be-

cause, it is now clear as day-light, that the interest of the debt cannot continue to be paid in gold, in full tale, unless resort be had to the temporalities of our "*spiritual parsons*," whether those *spiritual souls* be in the receipt of *military half-pay* or not.

This is a blessed change! One may now, without pulling off one's hat, venture to pass a fire-shovel with a *rose* in front of it, though these may possibly have taken place of the helmet, or of the hairy cap. This is a blessed change. And, their *wives* too! Those impudent and everlasting meddlers in every family of every neighbourhood; placed precisely in that state to make them at once envious and insolent: claiming an *equality* with the wives of the nobility and gentry, and a *superiority* over the wives of great farmers and tradesmen, neither of which claims is admitted by the respective parties. These, who, in Anti-Jacobin times, were as *exacting* as so many saucy, strutting, gabbling, gaudy and smock-

and must have a very great and say, nay, they must be, now, lowered a peg or two, to the immense benefit of their divers neighbourhoods.

But, amongst all the evidences of the decline of that *age*, that horrible *terror*, in which the mass of the people were kept for so many years, the strongest and most satisfactory, that I have yet seen, is, the resistance, the open resistance, the fearless resistance, which the parsons have met with in the case of the NEW CHURCHES, an instance of which I am now about fully to notice, as having taken place in your town of LEEDS, to the very great honour of that town, which has herein set *an example to the whole nation*; and, if that example be followed, this encroaching body of men will receive a check, not that will make them *desist*, but that will, at any rate, be extremely troublesome to them.

In my last I gave the history of the rise of this New-Church scheme, and showed how unjust

Mr. Singleton seconded the motion.]

Mr. Hernaman then proposed, by way of the people money to be applied to such a purpose, while the parsons were allowed to keep the tithes, the glebes, and all the clerical emoluments in so many hundreds of parishes where the churches had been allowed to fall down, and where there was now no divine service ever performed by the incumbent or by any curate. The New Church Acts of Parliament appointed Commissioners to superintend the distribution of the money; and they were to grant out of it such sums as they judged proper in *aid* of such parishes as chose to erect new churches. At LEEDS, certain individuals having agreed to subscribe a sum towards purchasing the sites, and for the erection of three new churches, application was made to the Commissioners, who granted them *thirty-three thousand pounds of the public money*. The churches being built, there remained wanting the means of making the *enclosures* for grounds round them and also the means of providing

parson' and churchwardens expected to get by the means of CHURCH-RATES! So that the parish, though it had never been consulted as to the erections, were about to be saddled with this new and enormous tax for ever, or as long, at least, as the Law-Church should maintain its predominance; and from this burden there appeared, until the 26th instant, to be no possible escape.

It appears, that the several acts of parliament, relating to New Churches, have taken care to compel the inhabitants of any parish, within which a New Church may be built, to *keep it in repair by church-rates, in the same way as if it were an additional aisle, or end, to the parish church.* So that, if money were raised as church-rates generally, the *parson and church-wardens* might expend it on the new ones as well as on the old one: and, as the parson appoints *one of the two church-wardens*, he himself would, of

cause, it is now clear ~~as day~~ right the taxes thus raised.

But, *no church-rate* can, according to law, be made, without the consent of a majority of the rate-payers in vestry met. Therefore, though the people of the parish could not prevent the parson and church-wardens, when they had once got the taxes into their hands, from laying the money out on the New Churches, the people could *refuse their assent to the laying of any church-rate at all!*

And this is what they did, at Leeds, on the 26th instant; and therein they gave to these everlasting encroachers a check, such as they had not before received for a long while, especially if the people in other parts have the sense and spirit to imitate your noble example.

This is the *history* of the affair, down to the period of the meeting of the 26th of July. I shall now insert the report of the *proceedings at the meeting*, which proceedings were singularly interesting to the whole nation; are worthy of the strict attention of every reader;

and must have a very great and extensive effect. When I have inserted the report, I shall have further remarks to make; but, I must beg of my readers in general to pay particular attention to what really passed upon this occasion. The parson and churchwardens and their partisans had done, it seems, every thing in their power, to collect together persons to vote for them. The meeting was uncommonly numerous; and, the *parson himself was in the chair.* I leave out parts that are uninteresting; but retain quite enough to show my readers, all over the country, what the people of Leeds dare do and say, and quite enough to convince them, that the New-Church scheme (which I always reprobated) is in a fair way of producing an effect the contrary of that which it was intended to produce.

Mr. Richard Richardson, the Senior Churchwarden, proposed that a rate of *one penny in the pound upon houses, and three half-pence in the pound upon land,* be laid, according to the method of assessing for the relief of the poor.

Mr. Singleton seconded the motion.]

Mr. Hernaman then proposed, by way of Amendment, that a rate of *eight pence in the pound upon houses and one shilling in the pound upon land,* should be laid for the necessary repairs of the Churches, and for the purpose of the Churchwardens enclosing them and the Burial Ground.

The *Vicar* thought that Mr. Hernaman's Amendment would involve the meeting very much, and that it did not come within the notice by which the meeting was called.

Mr. John Heups said, that in his opinion the notice would admit of Mr. Hernaman's motion.

Mr. Hernaman said he would briefly state his reasons for proposing the motion. If he was rightly informed, the parish was legally bound to enclose the Churches, and to provide necessary means to keep them in repair, and that that was not only the law upon the subject, under an Act of Parliament, but the most eminent authorities had given it as their opinion that all new Churches were a part and parcel of, and as much to be supported as the Parish Church itself. [Loud disapprobation.]

Mr. John Heups hoped that every gentleman might be candidly heard, and they would answer him, if they could, by argument,

Mr. Hernaman continued: He was convinced that the erection of the three new Churches in Leeds had the cordial approbation of the most respectable portion of the inhabitants, [disapprobation], especially as they were in a great degree devoted to the accommodation of the poor. The new Church at Woodhouse had been received by the inhabitants as one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred upon them; and he had no doubt that the

burial ground would be considered so too. He spoke this from his own observation and knowledge, and he defied any man to contradict him. [A laugh.] He wished the churchwardens to know and to do their duty, and he knew that a great portion of this populous parish was calling upon the churchwardens to do their duty in this respect in a manly and fearless manner. [Great disapprobation, and a few cries of Hear, hear!]

Mr. Charles Atkinson seconded the motion.

Mr. Baines rose and said: Mr. Chairman, it does strike me, I must say, that Mr. Hernaman was perfectly in order. I think that his Amendment clearly comes within the scope of the notice. I don't know, indeed, what will not come within the designation of that notice. [Hear, hear!] If any gentleman should rise and propose a peal of bells for each of the churches, that would come under the sense of this notice. If any other gentleman should get up and propose an organ for each of them to cost 500*l.*, that would equally come within the notice. [Hear, hear!] If any other gentleman were to propose a communion service to the amount of 1,000*l.*, that also would come within the notice. [Hear, hear!] There is, in fact, no expense whatever connected with the three new Churches, that will not come within this comprehensive notice. I quite agree with Mr. Bower, that the penny rate is merely the small end of the wedge; the eightpenny rate is knocking it a little towards the head. [Cheers and laughter.] Mr. Hernaman has shown you, not indeed the cloven foot; but he has shown you, when the hand is once in the pocket, how deep it may be pushed. A more consummate piece of good management was never exhibited. By and by we shall have the Church gorgeously attired, and 1,500*l.*,

the sum which would be raised by an eightpenny rate on buildings, and one shilling on land, is only the first slight call to be made upon us. Now, Gentlemen, I think you see this matter exactly in the light in which it ought to stand; and, whatever others may think, I feel myself under great obligations to Mr. Hernaman, for the very candid manner in which he has exhibited the disposition which prevails amongst a certain party in the parish. Do I say this because I am a friend to a vote of eightpence in the pound? No; I am a friend to a vote of nothing in the pound. [Loud cheers.] That I will state with the same candour as Mr. Hernaman has stated what would be the ultimate effect of this proposition. Gentlemen, there are a great many reasons why we should not consent to either of the rates proposed; but the question has been a good deal involved by this Amendment for an eightpenny rate; therefore I propose in the end to have two Amendments, for it is my intention, before I sit down, to move an Amendment, both on Mr. Hernaman's proposition and on the original motion. Gentlemen, I should be glad to know who, when these new churches were built, was consulted upon the propriety or expediency of building them? I see a great number of the inhabitants of the parish before me, and I put it fairly to you—were any of you consulted in this business in the way in which you ought to have been consulted? [No, no.] I believe there was a private meeting concocted in some corner—a true hole and corner meeting—but was the subject ever brought under your consideration, and that of the parish? No; there was a subscription entered into by certain individuals to buy the sites; but, having done this, which may be called the first insertion of the wedge, they come upon

the nation for thirty-three thousand pounds—the expense of building them; and now they come to you for the sum of 1,500*l.* as an outfit.—Now, Gentlemen, my opinion is, that this will not be nearly enough per annum. We have one Church here (the Parish Church), we know what it costs us now; no one indeed can tell what it might have cost in that remote period when it was first raised; but I have no doubt that the hundredth part of a penny in the pound would then have been sufficient to support it in all its dignity. But we have now *three* new Churches; by and by we shall have *five*; and who knows but in a few years we may have *ten*? What is to be the limit to these new Churches and their expenditure? Nothing, Gentlemen, but your decision this day. [Cheers.] I will tell you where the limit is to be; put your finger on the mark, and say—we will not grant the supplies. [Hear, hear!] That is the limit, and that is the only way to put an end to this craving after parish money for Churches. It is not above a fortnight ago that we were assembled to vote the sum of fifteen hundred pounds for the support of this Church; now there is another demand; in short, it would seem as if the parish were to be treated as a milch cow, and as if we were never satisfied but when we were draining it. [Laughter and cheers.] I would ask, whether it is to be endured that these imposts should come upon us in this manner? I must indeed state that the present proposal for fifteen hundred pounds was not made by the Churchwardens: they only wanted to get a neat little rate of a penny and three-half-pence, and they have explained what even that rate is wanted for. They have given us no items. [The Vicar: "They had no opportunity of mentioning the items."] Do not let us

so much narrow this question, as to suppose that it is one which affects this parish only; the question is a national question: it affects every one of the 199 Churches built or building through the land, and the people in every part of the country are looking to you, to see what your decision will be this day. [Cheers.] I beg that you will deliberately consider that you will not only, by granting this rate, be fastening a perpetual burden on yourselves and your posterity, but that you will be setting a pernicious example to the whole country. But there is another subject to which I wish to call your attention. Why did not those gentlemen who subscribed for the sites of these Churches tell us what was to be the ultimate effect of that subscription? I, for my own part, fully believed that they intended to support the new churches by subscriptions until congregations should be collected, or at least that the same end was to be effected without coming upon the parish. Have we been acted fairly by? Would it not have been the part of candour and honesty to have said—we will subscribe for the sites, but we shall call upon you to uphold the churches when they are built? I ask if that was not the candid and manly language that ought to have been used—but was it used? No; that which ought to have been a gift and boon, is now attempted to be made a perpetual burden, and the mere beginning of it is a demand of fifteen hundred a year [hear, hear!]. But I should be glad to know why the Dissenters, why the Methodists, or any person who attends any other place of worship than the new churches, should be called upon to support those churches? I am referred by a worthy Alderman below me to an Act of Parliament, and

he opens a ponderous volume, in order to show it to me. Gentlemen, before I have done, we shall see what the Act of Parliament can do without your will and pleasure. We are told that the new churches have many free seats in them, intended for the use of the poor, and this is urged as an argument for casting the expense of them upon the parish. But what place of worship is there that has not some free seats in it? [Cries of "None."] If this is to be the ground for an assessment, let us make a general sweep, and take them all at once under our protection [hear, hear, hear!]. There has lately been erected in this town a commodious chapel, in which there are no less than eleven hundred free sittings, which is more than twice the average number of the free sittings in the new churches; therefore, I fancy we ought to contribute twice the sum towards that chapel that we do to the churches. Now, suppose the Methodists were to come to us, and say, "We have built an exceedingly spacious chapel, with eleven hundred free seats for the poor, in Brunswick-place; have you any objection to support it by a rate?" Suppose they were to come to Mr. Richardson, the proposer, or to Mr. Singleton, the seconder of the motion, with such a proposition—what would they say to it? Why, Gentlemen, they would scout it as a monstrous absurdity, and they would be very right in so doing [hear, hear!]. I am happy to say, Gentlemen, that we live under a code of laws exceedingly liberal, particularly our parish law: the more I look into it, the more I am struck with its beauty and liberality. I am gratified to see that our ancestors acted upon the principle of "No taxation without representation," or rather, that if they were to be taxed, they should tax themselves; and, under our present

laws, it is quite impossible that there should be any tax, unless we choose to consent to it in Vestry assembled. Gentlemen, this assembly may not be inaptly compared to the Commons of Great Britain. Now, suppose his Majesty's Ministers were to bring forward a proposal for a tax, and the Commons were to say, we won't have that tax, what would be the consequence? Why, there would be an end to it: and you have only to say the same thing to-day, and there is an end to this tax [cheers]. I say, Gentlemen, we have only to act upon this principle, and there is an end of the impost altogether. But, if you refuse to submit to this tax, you will be subject to certain penalties, which are—the censures of the church. There was a time when these censures were very terrible in this country—

Mr. Alderman *Hall* rose to protest against the use of such language; in the very sanctuary of the church, he thought it quite out of order.

Mr. *Baines* continued—My friend Mr. Tottie reminds me that it is not the censures of the Church, but only of the Ecclesiastical Court; and I hope that will set me right with the worthy Alderman, who thought I was going to outrage the sanctity of the church, than which nothing can be more distant from my wishes—I am incapable of outraging the religious opinions of any man, or treating any religious denomination with disrespect. I was going to observe, that in ancient times the *Bulls of the Pope of Rome* had in them great terrors: *happily those times are gone past*. I hope I have put this matter on its right foundation. Then, Gentlemen, if no rate can be laid, and I think you distinctly perceive that no rate can be laid without the concurrence of the parishioners—the whole question is fairly brought

before you to-day; and you are not assembled here to be tantalized. Suppose that we had been brought here, and the churchwardens were to say to us, whether you lay a rate or not, we must have one, and we will lay a rate, *nolens volens*—it would have been very much like a cheat to bring us to this place to hear such a declaration. Gentlemen, very considerable expense will attend the outfit and repairing of the new churches, and that expense will certainly increase; now if you should be so easily misled as to suppose that the expenses necessary now will be sufficient twenty years hence, you labour under a great misapprehension. You are all aware that old structures require more repairs than new ones. At that time, whoever may live to hear it, the discussion will probably be, whether the rate will be eight-pence or twenty-pence [hear, hear!]. I will now, Gentlemen, say a word or two on another topic. The parishioners, a short time ago, headed by a munificent individual, made a liberal subscription to extinguish the vicarial tithes of the parish of Leeds. Their conduct, on that occasion, was worthy of all the parties engaged in it. I felt a strong interest in the matter: my donation was not what would be called liberal, but I thought it equal to my means, and I felt it my duty to contribute towards removing the impost. Did I expect this conduct of the parishioners to be rewarded by the imposition of another and more grievous tax? No; that was a conduct which ought at least to have franked us through one generation [hear, hear!]. But I oppose assessments on principle, because I think their influence is to injure the cause of religion, to damp the zeal of its ministers, and to make that a sinecure, which ought to be the post of exertion and

energy. By and by, you will assuredly be called to pay the clergyman's stipend; for, supposing that only twenty persons should assemble in one of the churches, as I have heard has often been the case, and that half of them should be those who occupy the free seats, if you come upon the rest for the expenses, what will they do? Why, they will cut and run. The persons who assemble there will say, this is too oppressive—the burden is intolerable; and what then is to be done? The milch cow is to be again resorted to [laughter]. But suppose you should refuse to lay an assessment, what will be the case then? The present vicar will, no doubt, appoint suitable men to fill the pulpits: but he may have an unworthy successor, and the churches may then be filled with clergymen appointed merely from favour. If you refuse to lay a rate, men of abilities, of zeal, of preaching powers, men who can fill a church, will be appointed to the pulpits [hear, hear!]. If you vote an assessment to-day, you vote a premium for apathy; but if you refuse it, you will probably have men of energy, of talents, and of a divine unction, who will draw congregations around them. In fine, Gentlemen, to prevent injustice to the Dissenters, to prevent injustice to the inhabitants of the out-townships, and to prevent injustice to a very large number of persons in the communion of the Establishment, I would say, decline to vote this grant. I do not combat the penny, or the eightpenny rate; but I say, decline to vote any grant at all. Do not come to this determination without being aware of all the consequences. The first is, that the churches may be shut up; and the second, that you may be subject to ecclesiastical censures. Under these impressions, and with an apology for having detained you

so long upon this not unimportant question, I beg leave to move, upon the original Motion, and upon the Amendment, another Amendment, which is as follows :—

" That this Meeting is of opinion, that it is inexpedient and unjust to impose a rate upon the parishioners of Leeds, for the repairs of, or for defraying any other expense connected with, the three new churches recently built in this parish by his Majesty's Commissioners; and that the Meeting do therefore now adjourn."

Mr. James Dickinson seconded the Amendment.

Mr. Alderman Sadler spoke from the body of the Meeting, but was called forward, and rose to speak near the Chairman. He said, when I addressed you, Mr. Chairman, it was merely to ask a question, viz.—whether Mr. Hernaman's Amendment was persisted in or withdrawn. I certainly felt with Mr. Hall, that the original proposal of the churchwardens should have been abided by; but since I came in here, I do lament to have heard so much that has had no object but to exasperate the feelings, without any reference to the subject in hand. [Loud disapprobation continued so as to prevent the speaker from going on. Mr. John Heaps said, let Mr. Sadler produce a contrary effect, if he can.] Mr. Sadler continued—I have no hope of producing a contrary effect, but I have a duty to perform, and there is no man less afraid to perform that duty. I do say there has been an attempt, and I conceive a very unworthy attempt, to produce a feeling that can have no good result [disapprobation]. Gentlemen, a body of people, when collected together, are always very soon imposed upon and thrown off their guard: they will frequently do in large bodies what they would disdain

to think of in their own families [loud hisses]. [Mr. John Heaps : "Hear every reflection he can cast upon you."] I am casting reflections upon no one. Gentlemen, there can be only one good advice to give this Meeting; and that is, to act according to law; and, if the law compels you to do it, to keep these churches in moderate repair. There has been an attempt to augment the sum required for this purpose, in a tenfold proportion. As a churchwarden of one of the largest churches in Leeds, I say that a rate of a penny or three halfpence is more than all the wants of the churches require. Therefore I say it is wrong to insinuate that they will require ten times the sum. We never expected that the Dissenters would be willing to support the rate; no such thing [loud cheers and hisses].

Mr. S. Clapham said: Hear Mr. Sadler, and I have no doubt he will be replied to in such a way as will be satisfactory to you; and that he himself, if his mind is penetrable, will be convinced he is wrong.

Mr. Sadler continued: Now, then, you hear I am all for you, therefore you had better hear me. I was saying that we could not expect the Dissenter upon principle—the conscientious Dissenter—to support this object; but we did not expect that the intelligent Dissenters would have come forward to have headed such an opposition as this, and to fight against the established religion of the land [loud and continued disapprobation, with a few cheers]. We did not expect the Dissenters to support us on principle, but we did conceive that their judgment would have taught them that the established religion of the land, according to law, must be supported. If it be the law of the land that these churches should be repaired by the parishioners,

I think it an unreasonable thing to oppose it, when that opposition cannot ultimately issue in success. As to the opinion which is to be published for the benefit of the world at large, I suppose it is a family opinion, and we have another opinion quite the reverse of it [great disapprobation]. We have an opinion of Dr. Lushington, which is entirely at issue with it; it is his opinion, taken on the subject of the sites of the new churches, that all the out-towships are compellable to bear a proportion of the expense. [The opinion read by Mr. Baines to the Meeting was here handed up to Mr. Sadler, and he was requested to point out that part of it which was at issue with Dr. Lushington's opinion; but the worthy Alderman begged to be excused.] He resumed: Gentlemen, for my own part, I feel the greatest indifference whether the rate is laid or not; but I feel it of some importance to this Meeting, that they should agree to a small rate, to defray the small expenses of these churches [much disapprobation].

Mr. Yewdall said, he felt considerable pleasure in seeing so very numerous and respectable a meeting assembled; it showed clearly that they were alive to the importance of the subject for which they were called together. He was only sorry for the hisses poured upon Mr. Sadler, for that Gentleman had so effectually served their cause, that if they had given him a patient hearing, it would have completed the thing with triumph. The subject they were met to discuss was an important one; as had been observed, it was a great national question, and the vote of that meeting would have a powerful influence upon the whole of the British public. His Majesty's Government had voted a million and a half of money—a measure of which a great majority of the people of this country never

approved, because it was uncalled for and unnecessary. It had already been observed, that no meeting, as to the propriety of erecting these churches, was called, and the reason was obvious; because a few persons in this town were aware it would be fatal to their object. They knew that the vestry would have called upon them to make out a case, to show that the five existing Churches were excessively crowded, that it was necessary that additional accommodation should be provided for the poor; and then, as the Dissenters act in such case, they would have counted the cost. He hoped they would show the legislature of the country that they had committed a fatal error, that some of the Leeds gentry had made themselves a party to that error, and that they would not, by agreeing to the proposed tax, make themselves parties to it also. He hoped by their votes on that occasion, they would show to the country that they would not be taxed without their consent, and that, if there was a power to compel them, they would put it to the test. He called upon them to resist the rate, because it was unnecessary and unjust. If their profits were so heavy, their rates so light, if their trade was so rapidly increasing, if they were at a loss to know how to relieve themselves of an overgrown capital, he would recommend a new church rate, for it would effectually relieve them. If the proposed rate were granted, it would not only be perpetual, but grow heavier and heavier. When they paid other local rates, they received something in exchange, but he would ask any candid and honest men what prospect there was of receiving any thing in exchange for the new church rate? Did they expect these churches to produce a great work of moral improvement in the poor? He knew

they looked for no such result. A great deal had been said about free seats, but they had not been told that they were empty, and the cause of their being so was not difficult to ascertain. He would say to Dissenters, resist the proposed rate, because it is unjust—to Churchmen, resist it, because it is bad policy; nothing will so effectually defeat your objects; if you wish the Establishment to be reverenced by Dissenters, touch gently their pockets—leave the Church to its own resources, and you may depend upon it they will soon appear. Mr. Yewdall concluded by observing, that he believed there was too much public spirit and proper feeling in the minds of many members of the Establishment, to suffer these churches to be shut up—he had no doubt they would find supplies for them, and that the churches would ultimately rise to eminence. [This speech was received throughout with loud cheers.]

Mr. Newton said, "As a member of the Established Church, I wish to be the first to protest against this rate."

Mr. Baines's RESOLUTION was carried almost without a hand held up against it; and thus was Master Parson left in a most melancholy plight. But, it will naturally be asked, can *any* and *every* parish refuse to lay rates for repairing the parish church? Yes, every parish may refuse to raise any church-rates at all, and the parson has no power to compel a parish to raise such rates. But,

then, the law has provided *punishments* for this refusal, or neglect.

The punishments are *dreadful*, to be sure; for, FIRST, the parson may *cease to perform "divine service"* in the Church; and, SECOND, the parishioners *may be excommunicated*, one by one! Dreadful, however, as these punishments must be, I am of opinion, that, to save themselves from them, the people of Leeds would not pay, I will not say a farthing, but certainly not a half-penny. So that, here, Master

Parson and his select party are fairly routed. They will get no rates, no taxes, nothing screwed out of the people, even to repair the *old church*, which they, if the people hold firm, must repair *out of their own pockets*, or let fall down!

This is just what ought to be. What right have we church-people to make *anybody* pay to uphold churches? We are *protesters* ourselves against the faith of our fathers who built and endowed these very churches; and

shall we not allow others to be *protesters* against our Act of Parliamently established church and articles of faith ? Yes, even the cock-parsons will permit any body to protest against their *faith*, but not against the *tithes*, the *church-rates*, *Easter-offerings*, and so forth : the people are permitted to *believe* what they like, so long as they *pay* what is demanded of them ! Was there ever before heard of in the world an "*established church*" like this ?

Mr. BAINES is an *Unitarian*, I believe ; and it was, perhaps, hardly to be expected, that he should let this occasion pass, without giving the meeting just a specimen of the self-conceit of that *priggish* sect, who, take them all in all, are certainly the most disgusting of all scripture-jabbering crews in this sectarian country. The most odious trait in the character of us protestants in general, is, that we talk as if the whole world had, by some solemn mode and form of declaration, *acknowledged us to be in the right* ; and

this odious trait, this most offensive characteristic, marks the *Unitarian* in a still stronger degree, though he is no more than an *Arian*, and though his whole creed was openly professed by the Emperor Frederick seven hundred years ago. These mongrel deists affect to believe, that all the rest of the nation are still *benighted* creatures ; and that, as to *old times*, the people who lived in them were *most shockingly priest-ridden*, and quite subdued by their superstitious fears. BAINES had manifestly been *fitted out* for this particular occasion : he read, or caused to be read, an opinion of some lawyer, badly drawn up indeed, but expressing the law on the subject : Baines had the people with him ; but, when Baines *congratulated* you that the times of *Popery* were "*happily gone past*," Baines showed, that he was a conceited fool, as he would have appeared to all the Meeting, if some Catholic present had said, "CATHOLIC. *Why* "*happily*," Baines ?

BAINES. (*Screwing his mouth up and looking arch and big*) Why, Sir? Because it is a *happy* thing, that the Bulls of the Pope of Rome cannot now affect us.

CATHOLIC. Affect you? What would you apprehend from them?

BAINES. Why, they, indeed, might *make us pay rates to repair all these churches*.

CATHOLIC. Now, you great, swell-headed, conceited coxcomb, who, even at this moment declare yourself incapable of "outraging the religious opinions of any man," while you level what you think a sarcastic shaft at my religious opinions; you great purse-proud plagiarist, you have been paying *church rates* and *poor rates* all your life time, and now, when you are come here and are endeavouring to check a scheme for greatly augmenting the church-rates, you have the stupidity, or the base insolence, or both, to observe, that those times are "*happily gone past*," when England knew, and had never known, any thing of church-rates or poor-rates, and

when the churches were built and repaired and beautified, and the poor and stranger fed, by the Clergy, and that, too, out of the produce of the tithes, the glebes, and the other church lands, without any tax, or rate, upon the people. So that, while you condemn church-rates, you look back with stupid superciliousness in *triumph* over the "*dark ages*," when church-rates were unknown, and tell us, that those ages are "*happily*" past, and have left us in the *full blaze* of church-rates and poor-rates!

BAINES. I did not say that, Sir.

CATHOLIC. *Say it! no: you do not know how to say it: but, your words mean it, though, perhaps, you are too stupid to know what you yourself really did, or do mean.*

BAINES. Why, Sir, you are as abusive as Cobbett, and I like *gentlemanly behaviour*. (*Rights his cravat and wipes his mouth with a white handkerchief*.)

COBBETT. Baines! A word in

your ear. Stick to the *shop* for your life. As long as you stuck to what you had had *printed before hand*, all was well : there were the compositor and the devil to keep you within the bounds of sense ; but, as soon as you bolted from their bounds, the fool came staring out. Stick to the shop, man ; or even the *profits of your plagiarism* will not disguise the vulgarity of your mind.

This stupid self-conceit robs us of the most powerful of all the weapons, wherewith to fight against the claims of these everlastingly encroaching parsons. If we would only look back to the state of things in the days of our sensible, very pious but very spirited, Catholic ancestors, and show how these present parsons squeeze us in comparison to the gentle pressure that our forefathers endured ; if we would be *just*, and look back thus, how speedy and complete would be our triumph over these parsons, that leave us to repair the churches, and to keep the poor by the means of taxes

raised on ourselves ! But, we will not be *just* : we are *ashamed* to be *just* : because we cannot be *just* without frankly avowing, that the event called the "REFORMATION" was a monstrous injury to the country. We could tell our parsons ; they do not want to be *told* ; but, we could *remind* them, that the Catholic clergy divided the tithes into *three parts*, one part for the poor, one to build and repair and ornament churches, and one for the priest, which third he spent in the parish ; but, we cannot remind them of this, without reminding ourselves of the foul and unmerited abuse, that we have, all our lives long, been heaping on the Catholic religion and clergy. We are feeble in argument, we forego our strongest means of attack, only because we have not the courage to be *just* ; and, if ever there were a case wherein a good *squeezing* was merited, ours is that case.

I shall conclude this letter to you, my friends of Leeds, by giving you an extract from a letter, which was read in the House

of Commons by SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, during the speech, by which he, in 1802, introduced the Bill, which took from the people the power of *punishing church-parsons for renting farms, for trafficking, and for being absent from their livings.* The letter had, he said, been sent him by "two most respectable clergymen in the West of England." They are, in this part of their letter, representing to him the necessity of being *permitted to traffic*; and, in order to make this out, they contrast *their* situation with that of the *Roman Catholic Priest*, for whom the law against the Clergy's trafficking was made. In drawing this contrast, they have their own interest and object so strongly in view, that they seem not to perceive, that the contrast must make *the people* most sorely lament that the old sort of priests were not still in their parsonage houses. "Our ancestors, who re-sided in the country, derived from their estates the most ample maintenance for themselves

"and dependents. In conformity to this general practice, the resident country-clergyman had, comparatively speaking, few demands for *money*, the glebe and tithes supplying all his necessities; his wheat provided bread, and his barley, under his own eye, was converted into malt, most of the old rectorial houses having, even now, a building appropriated to that purpose; the wool was spun under his own roof, and wrought into cloth in the neighbouring towns; the cattle, fattened in summer, were slaughtered and laid up for the rest of the year; and, as his family must have been large (the day-labourer and occasional artificer being fed from his table), it is reasonable to suppose, that he had little to spare beyond his own consumption." — [The devil, Master cock-parsons! What! did he and his people eat *all* the tithes and all the produce of the glebe! Mind, too, has the crafty fellows forgot, *that he had all the poor to*

relieve!] "Add to this, that he *was a solitary being*," [Very *solitary*, to be sure, if his family was *so large*, as you say it was !], "*deprived by superstition* of those *endearing connexions*, which *impel mankind to look beyond themselves*, to the welfare of *those, who are of far more importance to them.*" [What! *more importance* to them than themselves! This *endearing work* may be pleasant enough to the parsons; but not quite so pleasant to the poor, whom it has robbed of their share of the tithes and the produce of the glebe. Pretty talk, to be sure, "*deprived by superstition*; and, of *what*, Mr. Parsons? Of *what*? I say. "*Endearing connexions?*" Eh! come, give it the plain name, and call it *living with a woman, night as well as day.*]" "His situation now is *totally changed*. Commerce and the influx of wealth have entirely overthrown his domestic arrangements; money is the medium through which all his wants are to be supplied; he,

"therefore, sells his wheat to pay his workmen; barley *the laws of his country restrain him from making into malt*" [and whose fault is that, Master Parsons? Who more to blame for that than you ?]; "he sends it to market, and with the money received for it, purchases beer; the wool is disposed of to a distant manufacturer, and with its value, himself and family are clothed; the fat cattle are sold instead of being salted, and the profit insures a weekly supply of fresh meat till summer returns. The expenses also attendant on A MARIAGE STATE" [a parson's!], "to say nothing of the various and HEAVY TAXES, occasion repeated demands on him for MONEY, which were wholly unknown to the Clergy in Catholic times."

Aye, aye! Here it is. Here is the effect of all his "*endearings.*" Here is the swallow-hole of tithes, glebes, and Easter-offerings. Here is the true source of the poor-rates and the church-

rates. "Oh! naughty man!" will some lazy, insolent, musicking, novel-reading dawdle exclaim, "what! not let *clergymen* marry, and keep me from the "endearing" and Reverend Mr. "Lisp-Litany"! Oh, no, my girl! Let him marry; but, let the poor have their due, and let it not be given to you to devour and waste. Marry! aye, to be sure; but, let it be *at their own charge and risk*; and not at the *charge and risk of the nation*. If to abstain from marriage be to make *a sacrifice* it is by no means a sacrifice *without compensation*. What (I should say to a young parson, who should complain of my doctrine); what have you to offer for the benefice you are in search of, or have got? You want to have *a landed estate for life*, secured to you for life, whether you be sick or well, drunken or sober, wise or insane. And, what should the nation see in your face, *to give you this for nothing*, and without any thing done, in return, on your part?

Without any sacrifice, even with-

out your abstaining from marriage? Those who *do not ask for estates from the public*, may marry without ceremony: it is their own affair. This is not the case with Church-parsons; that is to say, men whom the people, the nation, *keep by compulsion*.

With regard to "*Ministers*," as they call them of the **LAW-LESS** sects, it is quite another matter. They are most ridiculous devils, to be sure. Some are divers, some swimmers, some shagged, some short-haired, some long-tailed, some short-tailed, some silent, some noisy, and the noises are as various as the notes of the thrush or the sky-lark, but always most beastly. But, these *may marry*, because the people who pay them, who feed them and clothe them, do it *without compulsion*. These people are great fools, to be sure; but fools have a right to spend their own money, or to give away their own victuals, in any manner that they please. It is only when the "*Minister*" gets his keep from the people by

compulsion, that the people have a right to control him in his propensity to *propagate idlers*. This right a nation has ; and this is the *only nation* that ever took it into its noddy to have an *established clergy* that were allowed to marry.

“ *Hardship !* ” What hardship ? Nobody *compels* a man to be a parson. He declares, that he “ verily believes himself *called by the Holy Ghost* to take upon “ him the care of souls ;” and he makes promises, the due performance of which is almost impossible to a married man. Besides, if they talk of *hardship*, how is it with the *Royal Family* ? They cannot marry without the King’s consent ; and this is reasonable too ; because they are *maintained by the nation*, and the nation has a right to control them in this respect, and to prevent them from forming matrimonial connexions that might tend to do it harm. It is a sacrifice imposed on them in consequence of the ease and splendour which they enjoy without doing any obvious service in

return. The soldier, too, cannot marry without leave of his commanding officer. I have seen a man receive *two hundred lashes*, well laid on, for marrying without leave ! It is, or it was, when I was in the army, a *standing order*, in every regiment, that no man should marry *without leave*; an order that was most rigidly enforced, and very justly and necessarily too ; for, without it, there would soon be as many women as men, and all the wagons in a county would not carry the broods of an army of 20,000 men from one station to another. What a squalling and piece of work, when a corps was going *abroad*, for instance ! What a burden upon the nation ! What a race of *idlers* ! In short, what an intolerable curse ! No *hardship* at all. The soldier is a *volunteer*. He enters without force, and the people are *taxed to pay him*. Yet, he has as much right (in reason) to marry, as the Church-parson has ; and his progeny is less burdensome, because his children

become labourers of *some sort*, or at worst, cheaply kept idlers; while the herd of master parson must be kept as *gentlemen and ladies*. This is an enormous national eyil. First the parsons are permitted to marry; next they are the poor relations, the dependents, the school-masters, of the aristocracy; next their lives are so easy, and their condition is such, that they are enabled, and naturally induced to marry; next they are become a race none of whom ever thinks of *working*. So that here are about 20,000 men, including curates, who are fathers, if fathers at all, of *gentlemen and ladies*, a very large proportion of whom are to be, must be, and will be, maintained by the sweat and the hard-living of the people at large; and the whole of whom, together with their fathers and mothers and patrons, must of necessity be deadly enemies of every man, who desires to put a stop to the heavy taxation, under which the nation now groans; because, if that taxation be diminished, this

race of gentlemen and ladies must be compelled to *work*, or to *starve*.

Here is the great evil of this establishment; but, this evil is not to be put down, nor even checked, by *conceited dissenters*, who have only the little spite of their sect to gratify. It is to be put down only by *a reform of the Parliament*; and, my friends, reformers of Leeds, be you assured, that the conceited dissenters are as great enemies of reform as the parsons themselves. I once dined with Dr. REES, the bishop of the *Independents*, Dr. LINDSEY, the bishop of the *Presbyterians*, and Dr. BELSHAM, the bishop of the *Unitarians*; and I heard them all declare, *that they did not wish to see a reform of the Parliament*. They gave as a reason, that they thought, that a reform of the Parliament would be *injurious to dissenters*. This was at the Mansion-House, when Mr. Alderman Wood was Lord Mayor, who, of course, was present at the time. This is a fact always borne in mind by

Your faithful friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SCOTCH INFLUENCE.

THE affair of Mr. SEDGWICK, late Chairman of the English Board of Stamps, has been *before the public*, but, in such a shape as not to have been seen clearly, in its true light, by one man out of ten thousand. For my part, I have always a strong disinclination to take the part of, or to trouble my readers with the complaints of, any man, however ill he may have been used, if he have been, *voluntarily*, in the service of this our *unreformed THING*; because the bare fact of his having so been says, that he willingly has assisted to carry on that system, of which we Reformers complain so bitterly, and which has, at last, brought the nation into its present wretched condition. For this same reason, I should not have noticed Mr. SEDGWICK's case, even if he had been punished by military flogging, had it not appeared to me, that the proceedings in that case affords a most striking instance of that *Scotch influence*, which has, for many years past, been so fatal to England and Ireland, and particularly to England. It is as clear as day-light, that Mr. SEDGWICK

owes his dismissal to his having detected and exposed transactions in Scotland. All the facts of the case, if briefly arranged, and placed in a clear light, would fill the public with indignation. But, for the present, I shall content myself with observing, that if *this grievance remains unredressed by the new Treasury*, it will be proof complete, that Mr. CANNING dare not face the *Scotch*! He must see, it is impossible for him not to see, the monstrousness of this whole transaction: he must see how injurious it is to the public; and, therefore, if he afford no redress, if he do not bring the conduct of all the parties under public view, the conclusion must be, that he is *afraid* to do it; and, if that be his state, what is he worth as a *Prime Minister*?

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—The enclosed was sent by me to one of the daily papers, in which had appeared several articles in disapprobation of Mr. Canning's conduct towards his late colleagues, but the editor declined inserting it. It is quite clear to me, that the motive for this was, that these extracts from the Register reflect upon others

as well as upon Mr. Canning; and in particular upon our *late Premier*, the "STERN-PATH-OF-DUTY MAN." I trust you will think these short extracts worthy of being republished, for the information of those readers of the Register who have forgotten, or who have never heard or read of these early exploits of the "*Master-minds*."

I am, Sir,
AN OLD DISCIPLE.

SIR.—The following passages from the *Political Register*, will show that our PREMIER, though not an *old Man*, is an *old political intriguer*. His conduct towards the late lord Lord Castle-reagh is too fresh in the public recollection to need being mentioned here. But I imagine that many, like myself, have hitherto been ignorant of the fact, that he acted a similar part towards him, who, we are told, was his friend from their boyish days.

"It is said, that Mr. Canning, before he would consent to take office in the present Ministry, insisted that Lord Hawkesbury should be removed from the office of Foreign Affairs. How Mr. Canning, or any such person, should become possessed of a similar influence, would

"astonish one in any other times than the present; but, that the fact was as is above stated, appears to have been strongly corroborated by Mr. Canning himself, in his speech of the 18th June last, where he took an opportunity of stating the grounds upon which he had joined the new Ministry. 'I shall,' said he, 'content myself with vindicating my own consistency. I objected to the Administration of Foreign Affairs, and, *that has been changed*.' Now nothing can qualify the meaning of this sentence. It is complete in sense, as well as in grammatical construction. It was spoken in Parliament; it is upon record in the proceedings of that body; and, however great our wonder may be that Mr. Canning should have acquired so much influence in the State, every one must be convinced that he exerted it for the purpose of effecting the removal of Lord Hawkesbury from the office of Foreign Affairs. Any one of patriotism less ardent and persevering than that of his Lordship, having been thus far removed, would have removed a little farther off his own accord; but, he has, as it was well remarked in a

" pamphlet published in his defence, '*an hereditary disposition to office.*' This is certainly " a disposition that runs in the " blood. It prevails, more or less " generally, in all countries. " There are families in America, " who were always in office under the royal Government, and " who, in some shape or other, " still stick to the State. No " change of leaders or of rulers, " no storms of any kind, can " shake the settled purpose of " their souls." —Vol. VI. p. 783,
17 Nov. 1804.

" Mr. Canning is now going to " see an instance of the danger " there is for an orator to dabble " in intrigue."

" Whether Mr. Addington will " quietly suffer him to remain, is " another question : it is thought " by some that he will not. But " this is a matter of very trifling " importance : there is no reason " why they should not agree full " as well as Lord Hawkesbury " and Mr. Canning now do." —
Vol. VII. pp. 25, 26. 5 January, 1805.

There are several more curious passages on the same subject, in Vol. VII. pp. 415, 416, 585, 592, 593, 599, and 705 ; all well worth the perusal of those who have

been led away by the *unaccountable* conduct of a great portion of the press ; and induced by that press to look up to Mr. Canning as a man likely to serve the cause of the people ! "*Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots?*"

I am, Sir,
Your Constant Reader,
A. J.

London, 12th July, 1827.

PROTESTANT REFORMATION."

N. B. Besides what is mentioned below, there is an Edition, in English, **ON FINE PAPER**, price for the whole work 10s. bound in boards.

This Work is now completed in **TWO PARTS**. The **FIRST PART**, price 4s. 6d. bound in boards, contains the History of that important Event, and traces it, in its consequences, down to the present day, proving, agreeably to the title of the work, that the event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people of England and Ireland. —The **SECOND PART**, price 3s. 6d., contains a List of the Abbeys, Priories, and other reli-

gious foundations and pieces of real property, confiscated, or alienated, by the "Reformation" sovereigns and parliaments, and has prefixed to it an INTRODUCTION, proving the clear right, and the reasonableness and justice, of the taking that part of all this property (including the tithes), that still remains *public property*, and of applying it to the liquidation of the Debt, or to any other public use or purpose.--There is, besides, now just published, a FRENCH TRANSLATION of the FIRST PART, price, bound in boards, 4s. 6d. This translating has been executed with great care by a very able hand, and has been made as nearly literal as the language would permit, in order that it might be used as an *Exercise-Book* in the learning of French by English Scholars, or of English, by French Scholars; and, as the subject is deeply interesting, especially to English youth, I think that the work is eminently calculated to be useful in this capacity.

The FIRST PART of this work, which came forth, at first, in Numbers, began to be published in November, 1823. It was finished in March, 1825. It has, therefore, now, been completed upwards of two years; yet, it has

never been noticed by any of the things which are called "REVIEWS," and by which, several dozen of men, who ought to be sweeping the streets, or blacking shoes, make a shift, by keeping their names out of sight, to pick up a good living, without doing any work that is useful to society. These men, it is notorious, *take money from authors and booksellers as a reward for praising their works.* They are notoriously so many sets of *hired hacks*, who write for so much the page, and, sometimes, by the day, or the week, or the month. If the public, who is still their dupe to a great extent, wanted any proof of this, what stronger or more striking could be tendered, or thought of, than the facts, that the First Part of this work of mine has been sold, in this kingdom, to the extent of *forty thousand copies*, making 640,000 Numbers; that two Stereotype Editions of it, in English, have been published in the United States of America, where the sale of this work has greatly surpassed any work ever known in that country, the Bible only excepted; that this work has been translated into Spanish, and that two separate translations of it have been published in that language; that this work has been translated into

ance, and published at Paris ; that this work has been translated into *German*, and published at Geneva ; that it has been translated into *Italian*, and published at *Rome* ; and, that this work, thus spread over the world, has never been named in any one of those things, which are called “REVIEWS”, and which profess to give their readers correct information, *relative to all new books or pamphlets*. To these facts, I have only to add, that I have never so debased myself as to hire, to pay, to bribe, either with money, victuals or clothes, any one of the mercenary tribe, by whom these Reviews are conducted, or written.

These facts prove two things ;

first, that nobody ought to place any confidence in these periodical publications ; and, second, that no author, whose work is really meritorious, need care a straw about what they say, or what they omit to say. They make a branch of the means of delusion, employed by CORRUPTION. They are amongst her tools ; they are amongst the instruments that have brought England to her present state. They will exist as long as CORRUPTION shall live to feed them ; and, whenever she shall fall under the sword of national justice, these, her instruments, will perish, like the filthy vermin on the carcass of an expiring beast of prey.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending July 20.

Per Quarter.

	s. d.		s. d.
Wheat ..	61 0	Rye	43 8
Barley ..	37 2	Beans	43 10
Oats	27 6	Pease	46 4

The Six Weeks Imperial Average, by which the Duty on Foreign Corn is regulated.

Per Quarter.

	s. d.
Wheat	61 6
Barley	41 10
Oats	29 3
Rye	45 0
Beans	51 8
Pease	49 8

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended July 20.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	25,629	Rye	195
Barley ..	1,139	Beans	647
Oats ...	4,911	Pease	93

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Friday, July 27.—The arrivals of English Corn this week are small, but of Foreign Oats considerable. Wheat meets a very dull sale at the prices of last Monday. Barley also sells heavily. Beans and Pease are unaltered. Oats of good quality find buyers readily at rather improving rates, but other kinds still sell heavily. Fresh Flour is in fair demand.

Monday, July 30.—There was a good supply of Wheat and Flour last week, but very little English Grain besides. Of Foreign Oats the supply

was again considerable, but most of the large cargoes are rather out of condition, and several of them must be landed. This morning the fresh supplies of Corn from the districts near the metropolis are very moderate, and there are some more foreign vessels arrived with Oats. The weather to-day appears settled, and harvest will be general in these parts this week. The forward Wheats are very good, but such as are backward appear to be affected by mildew in the straw, and red gum in the ear. There has been a heavy trade for Wheat this morning; even superfine samples did not maintain last quotations, and all other sorts are 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than this day se'nnight.

Barley, Beans, and Pease, meet a limited demand at the prices of last Monday. During last week some extensive shipments of Foreign Oats were made from this place to various parts of the country, and this demand has caused fine samples to support their prices firmly, but there is a languid trade for all such as are unsweet or discoloured. The Flour Trade is extremely dull. The ports cannot open for Barley after the 15th of August, and there is some expectation, from the present state of the averages, that they may then shut against Oats.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	45s. — 48s.
— North Country ..	44s. — 47s.

**Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in
the Port of London, from July 23
to July 28, both inclusive.**

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat .. 4,390	Tares —
Barley .. 151	Linseed .. 2,605
Malt 2,726	Rapeseed .. —
Oats 1,287	Brank .. —
Beans ... 162	Mustard .. —
Flour 7,339	Flax —
Rye 5	Hemp —
Pease.... 307	Seeds ... 71

Foreign.—Wheat, 1,500; Barley, 1,837; Oats, 33,454; Beans, 6 qrs; and Flour, 1,288 barrels.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9½d. by the full-priced Bakers.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, July 30.—Our reports from the Plantations continue to speak favourably, more particularly of the strong vines, as where they have had the advantages of good cultivation, they have withstood the severe attack of the vermin, and rallied sooner than the weak grounds, which, let what happen, can do but little. This is now the most critical moment for the growing crop, the vine coming into blossom fast, and much depends upon the weather, whether it reaches the present estimated duty of 110,000*l.*, or falls considerably under. Prices nominal.

Maidstone, July 26.—All accounts agree this week in favour of the Hops, the fine hot weather bringing them so fast forward; in the Weald of Kent, we hear of a very great improvement indeed, as we understand there are many grounds, in several parishes, likely to produce from 10 to 15 cwt. per acre. The Duty is called 105,000*l.*, but it is the opinion here it will pay more.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, July 30.—The supply on Friday was abundant, and sales exceedingly dull. Middling Beasts could hardly be turned into money, and Sheep were in very slow demand. No alteration in the price of good Lamb.—To day the Salesmen are obliged to give way, the reluctance of Butchers to buy on last Monday's terms being so great. With the exception of a very few prime Heifer Scots which have made a crown, the price of good Beef is a shade lower. Second rate and inferior things are even worse than last week. A few choice pens of polled Sheep have made something over 4s. a stone; and the best old Downs, 4s. 4d. Good Lamb is worth as much as this day se'night; but middling has not improved in value.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	5
			0	
Mutton	3	4	—	4
Veal	4	8	—	5
Pork	4	4	—	5
Lamb	4	4	—	5
Beasts	1,900		Sheep	27,510
Calves	244		Pigs	116

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4
Mutton	3	4	—	0
Veal	3	8	—	5
Pork	4	0	—	5
Lamb	4	0	—	0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4
Mutton	3	4	—	2
Veal	3	4	—	5
Pork	3	8	—	5
Lamb	3	8	—	0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.			
		l.	s.
Ware	3 0	to	4 0
Middlings.....	1 15	—	2 0
Chats	1 10	—	0 0
Common Red..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.			

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	l.	s.	l.	s.
Ware	3 0	to	4 5	
Middlings.....	1 9	—	2 0	
Chats.....	1 10	—	0 0	
Common Red..	0 0	—	0 0	

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—	Hay....	90s. to 115s.
	Straw...	36s. to 48s.
	Clover.	105s. to 140s.
St. James's.—	Hay....	65s. to 126s.
	Straw ..	36s. to 51s.
	Clover ..	84s. to 135s.
Whitechapel.--	Hay....	80s. to 120s.
	Straw...	40s. to 48s.
	Clover	95s. to 147s

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended July 20, 1827.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	
			s.	d.
London*	62	7....39	6....29	8
Essex	62	3....34	0....24	8
Kent	61	4....39	4....28	8
Sussex	59	4.... 0	0.... 0	0 0
Suffolk	60	0....36	0....23	9
Cambridgeshire	56	2.... 0	0....20	0
Norfolk	59	2....37	0....28	0
Lincolnshire	59	0.... 0	0....27	4
Yorkshire	58	9.... 0	0....27	8
Durham	64	9.... 0	0....38	0
Northumberland	60	8....39	3....35	0
Cumberland	68	0....41	5....33	0
Westmoreland	67	7....48	0....37	8
Lancashire	61	6.... 0	0....30	0
Cheshire	64	6.... 0	0....33	0
Gloucestershire	60	8....41	1.... 0	0
Somersetshire	61	3....40	0....22	9
Monmouthshire	66	2....45	8.... 0	0
Devonshire	66	9....43	3.... 0	0
Cornwall	70	6....45	0....41	1
Dorsetshire	62	7....42	2....28	6
Hampshire	60	8....37	11.... 0	0
North Wales	74	8....47	2....32	4
South Wales	65	10....44	4....28	0

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Derby, July 28.—We had a thin supply of Grain at this day's market. Fine samples are in request, and more money obtained. But little doing in Barley. Oats and Beans plentiful, but sales heavy, and prices steady.—Wheat, best, 60s. to 67s.; Oats, 27s. to 34s.; Barley, foreign, 38s. to 42s.; and Beans, 54s. to 62s. per eight bushels, Imperial measure.

Guildford, July 28.—Wheat, new, for mealing, 16*l.* 10*s.* to 17*l.* 15*s.* per load. Barley, 36s. to 43s.; Oats, 29s. to 36s.; Beans, 52s. to 56s. per quarter. Tares, 10s. to 12s. per bushel.

Hornceastle, July 28.—We had a very thin attendance at our Corn market this day. Prices nearly the same as for some weeks past.—Wheat, from 57*s.* to 60*s.*; Barley, 40*s.* to 42*s.*; Oats, 30*s.* to 34*s.*; Beans, 58*s.* to 62*s.*; and Rye, from 38*s.* to 42*s.* per quarter.

Ipswich, July 28.—We had to-day a very small market, and prices were nominally as last week.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, July 28.—We had a short supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, but there were some arrivals coastwise, which, with a fair show of samples from granary, made altogether a good supply: the millers, however, gave readily the same prices as last week. Scarcely anything doing in Rye or Barley, and prices little more than nominal. The supply of Oats from the farmers was very small, but we have through the week had several cargoes from foreign ports, and the crop is said to be improved by the late rains; but as the ports are likely to shut next month, the holders stood out for 1*s.* per quarter advance, which was in some instances obtained.

Norwich, July 28.—The supply of Wheat to-day was extremely good, prices of Red, 55*s.* to 60*s.*; White to 62*s.*; Barley, nominal; Oats, 24*s.* to 28*s.*; Beans, 40*s.* to 41*s.*; Pease, 40*s.* to 42*s.* per quarter; and Flour, 45*s.* to 46*s.* per sack.

Reading, July 28.—The reports in our market this day are, that throughout this and the neighbouring counties, there is every prospect of a most abundant harvest. Nothing can look better than the Wheat crop, which, in some places, is begun to be harvested. The Barley, in the lower part of Berkshire, is unusually fine, and in general the crop is good. Oats in some instances, look well, in others they present but a thin appearance. The Potatoes want rather more rain; however, if a few genial showers should come between this time and the time of their ripening, this crop will be as good as can be wished. We had rather a short supply of Wheat this day, which met a fair sale on much the same terms as last week. We note it from 58*s.* to 71*s.* per quarter by the Imperial measure. There was no Barley except Foreign pitched, small quantities of which sold at 36*s.* per quarter. There was an inferior sample of New Oats exhibited; this trade continues dull at last week's prices. Some new Pease were sold at 48*s.* per quarter. In Beans no alteration.—Wheat, 58*s.* to 71*s.*; Oats, 28*s.* to 40*s.*; Beans, 50*s.* to 60*s.* per quarter.

Wakefield, July 27.—The supply of Wheat here to-day is large, a considerable part of which is of the released Foreign. The weather having been wet yesterday, with an appearance of remaining unsettled, the sellers asked more money for good Wheat, but have not been able to realize it, and the market concludes heavily at the rates of last week. Oats are plentiful, and support last Friday's prices. Shelling full as dear. Beans and Malt are unaltered in value.

Wisbech, July 28.—Good conditioned Wheat sells full as well as last week; but of Oats and Beans, so few are offering, that the quotations are merely nominal.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Bristol, July 26.—Beef, from 6½d. to 7d.; Mutton, 6d. to 6½d.; and Pork, 5d. per lb. sinking offal.

Horncastle, July 28.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs. Mutton, 6d.; Lamb, 6d. to 7d.; and Veal, from 6d. to 7d. per lb.

Norwich Castle Meadow, July 28.—We had only a short supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, prices 8s. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal: the supply of Store Stock was however large; Scots, only a few of them sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Short-horns, 3s. to 3s. 6d.; Cows and Calves, a flat sale; the supply of Sheep and Lambs was very large.—Shearlings, from 18s. to 27s.; fat ones to 37s.; Lambs, 10s. 6d. to 17s. each; Pigs rather dearer, fat ones to 7s. per stone.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb, 6½d. to 7d.; and Pork, 6d. to 7½d. per lb.

At *Morpeth Market*, July 25, there were a good many Cattle, which met with dull sale. A full market of Sheep and Lambs; fat sold readily, inferior met with very dull sale, and part were not sold: prices much the same.—Beef, 6s. to 7s.; Mutton, 5s. 3d. to 6s. 3d.; and Lamb, 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.